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EXDIS

NEW DELHI PASS CODEL NUNN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, PINS, PGOV, SNAR, MNUC, PK, US, AF, UR, IN  
 SUBJECT: VISIT OF CODEL NUNN: CONVERSATION WITH  
 - PRESIDENT ZIA

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. CODEL NUNN MET FOR PRE-DINNER DISCUSSIONS WITH  
 PRESIDENT ZIA AND KEY MEMBERS OF THE MARTIAL LAW  
 ADMINISTRATION AT COAS HOUSE ON NOVEMBER 28. PRESENT  
 AT THIS MEETING WERE PRESIDENT ZIA-UL-HAQ, FOREIGN  
 MINISTER YAQUB KHAN, FOREIGN SECRETARY NIAZ NAIK,  
 JCSC CHAIRMAN RAHIM-UDDIN KHAN, MGEN. WAHEED KHAN,  
 AND MFA ADDITIONAL SECRETARY NAJMUDDIN SHAIKH.  
 U.S. PARTICIPANTS WERE SENATOR SAM NUNN, SENATOR  
 JOHN GLENN, SENATOR BENNETT JOHNSTON, SENATOR JIM  
 SASSER, AMBASSADOR HINTON, AND DCM RATTRAY.

3. SENATOR NUNN COMMENCED BY STATING THAT THE CODEL'S  
 TWO-AND-A-HALF DAY VISIT TO PAKISTAN HAD BEEN  
 ENLIGHTENING. THE CODEL HAD HAD A PRODUCTIVE MEETING  
 WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND HAD BEEN IMPRESSED AS  
 WELL BY AN EXCELLENT BRIEFING ON THE MILITARY SITUATION  
 IN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN. SENATOR NUNN THANKED  
 PRESIDENT ZIA FOR THE "GREAT JOB" THE GOP WAS DOING  
 UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES IN SUPPORTING THE  
 REFUGEES. ZIA REPLIED THAT COPING WITH THE NEEDS  
 OF THE REFUGEES WOULD HAVE BEEN MUCH HARDER WITHOUT  
 THE MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT PAKISTAN HAD RECEIVED  
 FROM MUSLIM COUNTRIES, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE

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UNITED STATES. WE TRY TO DO OUR BEST, ZIA SAID, AND SEEK TO PROVIDE SYMPATHY AND COMFORT TO THE REFUGEES.

4. SENATOR NUNN NOTED THAT HE KEPT GETTING REQUESTS FROM MUJAHIDEEN SOURCES CONTENDING THAT THERE IS A DESPERATE NEED FOR WEAPONS TO COPE WITH THE SOVIET GUNSHIPS. THESE GROUPS CLAIMED THEY HAD TO RELY ON CAPTURED, OBSOLETE ARMS. ZIA REPLIED THAT THE REQUIREMENT OF THE MUJAHIDEEN WAS GENUINE; THE MUJAHIDEEN HAD SOME SAM-7 MISSILES BUT LOSSES CAUSED BY THE GUNSHIPS WERE ENORMOUS. PAKISTAN, ACCORDING TO ZIA, CLOSELY MONITORS THE FIGHTING IN AFGHANISTAN. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MUJAHIDEEN HAD BEEN MUCH BETTER THAN ONE COULD HAVE EXPECTED AND THE CASUALTIES SUFFERED BY THE RUSSIANS WERE ON THE AVERAGE THREE TIMES HIGHER THAN THOSE INFLICTED ON MUJAHIDEEN, EVEN HIGHER THAN THEY HAD BEEN FOR THE U.S. IN THE VIETNAM WAR. THERE WAS, ACCORDING TO ZIA, NOT A FAMILY IN WHITE RUSSIA OR THE ADJACENT SOVIET REPUBLICS (UZBEKISTAN, TURKMENISTAN, ETC.) THAT HAD NOT BEEN AFFECTED BY THE AFGHAN WAR. ZIA CAUTIONED, HOWEVER, THAT PAKISTAN HAD "TO BE CAREFUL" AND COULD NOT ALLOW A "FREE-FOR-ALL." THERE WAS A TEMPERATURE AT WHICH THE "KETTLE WOULD HAVE TO BOIL." THE GOP HAD TO BE THE JUDGE OF THIS SITUATION. WHILE PAKISTAN WAS THE CONDUIT TO THE MUJAHIDEEN, IT WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO ACKNOWLEDGE THIS ROLE PUBLICLY. SENATOR NUNN SAID WE WANTED TO BE HELPFUL BUT WOULD BE GUIDED BY GOP FEEL FOR THIS MATTER.

5. SENATOR GLENN OBSERVED THAT THE CODEL HAD HAD A VERY PRODUCTIVE TWO-AND-A-HALF DAY STAY. HE WAS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF PAKISTAN AND THE VISIT HAD REINFORCED THESE CONVICTIONS. SENATOR GLENN ASSERTED THAT HE WAS IMPRESSED BY THE CONGRUENCE IN OUR NATIONAL PURPOSES AND THE APPARENT WARMTH OF U.S.-PAKISTAN FRIENDSHIP. HE NOTED PAKISTAN WAS IN THE POSITION THAT IRAN WAS IN A FEW YEARS AGO, A FRONT-LINE STATE AND A KEY COUNTRY WITH THE WILL AND THE MILITARY FORCES REQUIRED TO HANDLE THIS SORT OF SITUATION SUCCESSFULLY. HE ASKED WHAT THE U.S. COULD DO TO SUPPLY PAKISTAN WITH THE WHEREWITHAL TO MEET ITS NATIONAL NEEDS. PAKISTAN, ZIA REJOINED, LOOKS TO THE U.S. AS A GREAT AND SINCERE ALLY. THERE HAD BEEN OVER 20 YEARS OF INTIMATE U.S.-PAK BILATERAL RELATIONS, BUT ZIA CONTINUED, NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD STRETCHED OUT ITS NECK WITHOUT SAFEGUARDING ITS OWN ESSENTIAL INTERESTS. PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC LOCATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE GULF COUNTRIES ACCOUNTED FOR ITS IMPORTANCE IN SOUTHWEST ASIA. HE RECALLED A CONVERSATION WITH WALTER CRONKITE IN WHICH IT WAS NOTED THAT WITHOUT PAKISTAN, THE U.S. WOULD BE WITHOUT INFLUENCE FROM TURKEY TO HONG KONG. ZIA STRESSED THAT, UNLESS OUR INTERESTS COINCIDED,

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THERE COULD BE NO SUBSTANTIAL RELATIONSHIP; FORTUNATELY, HE ADDED, OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE CONGRUENT TODAY. WHILE PAKISTAN WAS A NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY, IT HAD NEVER HESITATED TO SAY THAT IT WAS PROUD OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. ZIA ASSERTED THAT HE WAS PLEASED THAT

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THE U.S. HAD COME OUT OF THE SELF-INFLICTED WOUNDS IMPOSED BY THE VIETNAM WAR AND WAS NOW ONCE AGAIN ACTIVELY LOOKING OUT AFTER ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS. PRESIDENT ZIA CLAIMED THAT PAKISTAN LOOKED TO THE U.S. AS ITS ALLY AND THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION FAVORED STRONG U.S.-PAKISTAN TIES. IT WAS A QUESTION OF UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER -- A BIG BROTHER, SMALL BROTHER RELATIONSHIP. SENATOR GLENN AGREED THAT THERE WAS A CONVERGENCE OF INTERESTS WHICH WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE CONTINUED.

6. SENATOR GLENN STATED THAT THERE HAD BEEN A GOOD MEETING WITH PAKISTAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION CHAIRMAN MUNIR KHAN AND THAT HE KNEW THAT PRESIDENT ZIA WAS AWARE OF OUR INTERESTS IN THE NUCLEAR ISSUE. MUNIR KHAN HAD GIVEN THE ASSURANCES THAT WE HAD BEEN LOOKING FOR, BUT WE HAVE HAD TO REVIEW THE NUCLEAR QUESTION MANY TIMES. SENATOR GLENN STRESSED THAT IT WAS NOT JUST THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION OR JUST PRESIDENT REAGAN WHO WAS INTERESTED IN NON-PROLIFERATION. THIS WAS A MATTER OF INTENSE INTEREST TO AMERICANS AND WHEN PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD COME INTO OFFICE HE HAD NOT BEEN FULLY AWARE OF THE DEPTH OF PUBLIC FEELING ON THIS ISSUE. WE, SENATOR GLENN CONTINUED, DON'T WANT TO SEE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN SPOILED, BUT A BOOM IS A BOOM IS A BOOM AND HE COULD THINK OF NO ACTION THAT WOULD CAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO WITHDRAW THEIR SUPPORT OF PAKISTAN MORE QUICKLY. AMERICANS FOLLOWED NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS CAREFULLY AND WHEN THERE WAS A DRIVE FOR A REPROCESSING CAPABILITY, WE COULD ONLY ASSUME THAT THIS WAS RELATED TO DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. SENATOR GLENN SAID HE SHARED PRESIDENT ZIA'S VIEW OF PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC LOCATION, WHICH HAD BECOME EVEN MORE APPARENT WITH THE SOVIET'S INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE ANYTHING INTERFERE WITH U.S.-PAKISTAN COOPERATION BUT THE NUCLEAR ISSUE COULD FOUL THIS UP. PRESIDENT ZIA RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT PAKISTAN FEELS THAT IT IS A VERY RESPONSIBLE COUNTRY WHICH HAS HAD A CLEAR-CUT POLICY WITH REGARD TO NON-PROLIFERATION AND A BAD REPUTATION. ZIA QUOTED AN URDU SAYING TO THE EFFECT THAT IT WAS BAD TO BE BAD BUT IT WAS MUCH WORSE TO HAVE A BAD REPUTATION. PAKISTAN HAD SUPPORTED THE NPT AND TAKEN THE LEAD IN INTRODUCING THE CONCEPT OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THE CONCERN WAS OVER REGIONAL NON-PROLIFERATION. THE GOP HAD PRESSED THE GOI TO SIGN THE NPT AND CONCLUDE A BILATERAL TREATY ON INSPECTION AND AN AGREEMENT RENOUNCING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

7. ZIA OBSERVED THAT IN HIS SEVEN YEARS IN OFFICE, THERE WERE WHENEVER A DEBATE TOOK PLACE ON THE AFGHANISTAN ISSUES AIR RAIDS AND BOMBINGS ALONG PAKISTAN'S BORDER. THE MESSAGE FROM THE SOVIETS WAS YOU CAN DO WHAT YOU WANT BUT DON'T SHOUT TOO LOUD. PAKISTAN, HOWEVER, HAD CONSCIOUSLY DECIDED TO SHOUT. IN ADDITION, WHENEVER THERE WAS AN AID PROGRAM BEFORE U.S. CONGRESS, THERE WAS A SPATE OF RUMORS THAT PAKISTAN WAS MAKING A BOMB, STEALING URANIUM, AND THE LIKE. PAKISTAN, THE PRESIDENT ASSERTED, HAD NEITHER THE CAPABILITY NOR THE INTENTION OF MAKING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THERE WAS NO SUCH THING AS A PEACEFUL NUCLEAR DEVICE AND HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT REAGAN DURING HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES THAT THE GOP WOULD NOT EXPLODE A NUCLEAR DEVICE. AT THE SAME TIME, ONE HAD TO REALIZE THAT PAKISTAN WAS A DEVELOPING COUNTRY WHICH WANTED TO CATCH UP. TARBELA HAD BEEN THE

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BIGGEST EARTH-FILLED DAM IN THE WORLD, AND WHILE THE GOP WAS EXPLORING OTHER HYDROELECTRIC OPTIONS, BY 1990 THE COUNTRY COULD NOT MEET ITS ELECTRICITY NEEDS UNLESS OTHER SOURCES OF ENERGY WERE ACQUIRED. THE ONLY WAY OUT WAS THE NUCLEAR ENERGY OPTION AND PAKISTAN COULD NOT EVEN GET A NUCLEAR POWER STATION. SENATOR GLENN REPLIED THAT IAEA INSPECTIONS AND ADHERENCE TO THE NPT COULD LEAD TO ALL SORTS OF

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NUCLEAR POWER FACILITIES. ZIA OBSERVED THAT THIS WAS AN ATTRACTIVE CARROT.

8. SENATOR SASSER REMARKED THAT HE HAD BEEN MOST IMPRESSED WITH THE CALIBER OF THE PAKISTANIS HE HAD MET. GENERAL AKHTAR'S BRIEFING HAD BEEN SUPERB. Yaqub's TOUR D'HORIZON HAD ILLUSTRATED CLEARLY THAT PAKISTAN WAS SINCERE IN ITS EFFORTS TO SEEK PEACE AND STABILITY. SENATOR SASSER DECLARED THAT PAKISTAN HAD REPRESENTED THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD IN ITS SUPPORT OF THE REFUGEES AND ITS EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN. ZIA, REFERRING TO AN ATLAS, TOLD THE SENATORS THAT THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN EXPANDING THEIR POSITION FOR ONE HUNDRED YEARS. THUS, AFGHANISTAN WAS A GLOBAL PROBLEM. IF THE FREE WORLD ALLOWED THE SOVIET UNION TO GET AWAY WITH ITS ANNEXATION OF AFGHANISTAN, THEN SOVIET IMPERIAL ASPIRATION COULD NOT BE CURTAILED. WE MUST, ZIA ADDED, NOT FORGET TO FOCUS ON THE STRATEGIC POSITION THAT THE SOVIETS HAD ACQUIRED IN ASIA. IRAN COULD FALL LIKE A RIPE PLUM. STILL, THE RUSSIANS REMAIN TWO HUNDRED MILES FROM THE GULF AND THE MUJAHIDEEN ARE STILL FIGHTING OUR BATTLE. ZIA DOUBTED THE SOVIETS WOULD GET OUT OF AFGHANISTAN BUT INSISTED THEY MUST BE GIVEN FULL BLAST PRESSURE SUCH AS THE RECENT AFGHANISTAN RESOLUTION IN UNGA. THIS WAS WHY PAKISTAN WAS UNDER GREAT PRESSURE FROM BOTH USSR AND INDIA. STILL, HE CLAIMED, THE SOVIETS HAVE A CONSCIENCE AND COMPROMISE MAY BE POSSIBLE.

9. ZIA DECLARED THAT PAKISTAN HAS GONE OUT OF ITS WAY TO EXPLAIN TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA THAT IT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO HAVE A STABLE PAKISTAN AND A UNITED INDIA, A MESSAGE HE HAD AGAIN ONLY RECENTLY CONVEYED TO RAJIV GANDHI. HE HAD RECEIVED AN ENCOURAGING LETTER FROM RAJIV AND AMBASSADOR SHARMA HAD RETURNED FROM INDIA TALKING POSITIVELY. IF PAKISTAN AND INDIA HAD GOOD RELATIONS, THEN PAKISTAN COULD NOT BE INTIMIDATED BY THE USSR. THE PROBLEM THAT PAKISTAN WAS FACING WAS THAT INDIA DID NOT WANT TO LOSE ITS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS AND THE SOVIETS WERE PRESSURING INDIA. SENATOR JOHNSTON ASKED IF PRESIDENT ZIA WAS HOPEFUL THAT THERE WOULD BE DETENTE WITH INDIA AND ZIA RESPONDED THAT THIS WAS IN INDIA'S INTEREST. HE HAD SENT A LETTER TO INDIRA GANDHI SEEKING PEACE AND SUGGESTING REDUCTION IN DEFENSE SPENDING. ZIA OBSERVED THAT INDIRA GANDHI HAD CREATED A POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT THAT SUITED HER; THIS WAS THE CIRCUMSTANCE IN WHICH RAJIV GANDHI NOW HAD TO OPERATE AND ONE COULD NOT TELL IF THERE

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 WOULD BE PROGRESS ON NORMALIZING RELATIONS UNTIL  
 AFTER THE INDIAN ELECTIONS.  
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10. SENATOR NUNN REMARKED THAT HE HAD BEEN VERY ENCOURAGED BY THE PRESIDENT'S PLEDGE TO HOLD ELECTIONS. HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE PAKISTANIS HE HAD MET AND TOLD ZIA IT WAS COMMENDABLE HE WAS ON AN ELECTION COURSE. THE SENATOR ASKED WHAT KIND OF POWER BALANCE ZIA VISUALIZED. ZIA REPLIED BY EXPLAINING (IN A RATHER CURIOUS REVIEW OF HISTORY) THAT UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION, WHICH HAD BEEN FRAMED IN 1972, POLITICAL POWER HAD BEEN UNDULY CONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF THE PRIME MINISTER. FOLLOWING 1970 ELECTIONS, THE ARMY HAD INVITED BHUTTO TO BECOME PRESIDENT. BHUTTO HAD WANTED TO STRENGTHEN THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY BUT THE POLITICAL PARTIES HAD GANGED UP AGAINST HIM AND BHUTTO HAD GONE ALONG WITH THE CONSOLIDATING OF AUTHORITY IN THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER WHO IN EFFECT BECAME CHIEF EXECUTIVE. THE PRESIDENT UNDER THE 1973 CONSTITUTION WAS BUT A NOMINAL HEAD OF STATE. CRUNCH CAME IN 1977 WHEN THERE WAS NO ONE IN A POSITION TO STRAIGHTEN OUT THE DIFFICULT POLITICAL IMPASSE. IN 1977 THE PEOPLE WERE IN THE STREETS MAKING DEMANDS, PRIME MINISTER COULD NOT RESOLVE SITUATION POLITICALLY, AND ARMY HAD NO OPTION BUT TO INTERVENE. IT WAS, ZIA ASSERTED, UNEQUAL BALANCE BETWEEN POWERS OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT THAT HE WANTED TO RESOLVE. POWER SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED SO THAT THE PRESIDENT COULD ACT IN A CRITICAL SITUATION. AS HE VIEWED IT, THE PRESIDENT

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WOULD BE HEAD OF STATE AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
 OF THE ARMED FORCES.  
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11. SENATOR NUNN ASKED IF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WOULD ELECT THE PRESIDENT. ZIA REPLIED THAT ACCORDING TO THE CONSTITUTION, THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE SELECTED IN A JOINT SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SENATE AND COULD COME FROM EITHER BODY. THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP WOULD BE GIVEN BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE LEADER OF THE DOMINANT PARTY IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE DAY-TO-DAY FUNCTIONING OF THE GOVERNMENT WOULD BE IN THE HANDS OF THE PRIME MINISTER.  
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12. SENATOR NUNN ASKED IF ELECTION DATES HAD BEEN SET, AND ZIA SAID THAT "WE HAVE A PROGRAM FOR ELECTIONS." NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS WOULD BE HELD AND THEREAFTER PEOPLE WOULD CAST THEIR BALLOTS FOR PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES WITH VOTING CONCLUDED BY MARCH 23. ONCE THE PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES HAD BEEN ELECTED, THEY WOULD SELECT MEMBERS OF THE SENATE. THIS PROCESS SHOULD BE COMPLETED IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS AND THE END OF FEBRUARY, BEGINNING OF MARCH, WAS THE RIGHT TIME. THE WHOLE ELECTION REQUIRED A MINIMUM OF 45 DAYS AND AN ELECTION ANNOUNCEMENT MUST BE MADE 50 DAYS OR SO IN ADVANCE. SENATOR NUNN ASKED ZIA IF HE WOULD ENCOURAGE A BROAD ARRAY OF CANDIDATES. ZIA REPLIED IT WOULD BE A PARTY-LESS ELECTION. ALL CANDIDATES WOULD BE INDEPENDENT SO THAT THEY COULD COME TOGETHER AS A NATIONAL

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ASSEMBLY TO DECIDE BY THEMSELVES THE ISSUE OF HOW TO GOVERN THE COUNTRY. THERE WERE 76 POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN, 14 OF WHICH CLAIMED A NATIONAL BASE. PPP CLAIMED TO HAVE LARGEST FOLLOWING BUT IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD ON A PARTISAN BASIS THERE WAS NOT A SINGLE PARTY WHICH COULD BY ITSELF FORM A GOVERNMENT. COALITIONS HAD NEVER WORKED IN PAKISTAN AND THE RESULT WOULD BE MORE INSTABILITY. SENATOR GLENN OBSERVED THAT THIS FOLLOWED THE AMERICAN MODEL -- JEFFERSON HAD THOUGHT THAT POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD BE OUR RUINATION. PAKISTAN, ZIA NOTED, WAS ONLY 37 YEARS OLD AND HAD NEVER HAD A STABLE GOVERNMENT. POLITICAL PARTIES HAD NEVER PROPERLY FORMED AND THE MOST UNDEMOCRATIC PERIODS OF RULE HAD BEEN THE PERIODS WHEN POLITICIANS REIGNED. THERE HAD BEEN MORE DEMOCRACY UNDER MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATIONS, ZIA ASSERTED, AND HE POINTED OUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN TWO LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS DURING HIS RULE. IT WAS EASY FOR THE MILITARY TO TAKE OVER BUT HARD TO HAND THE POWER BACK BECAUSE POLITICAL AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS HAD NEVER DEVELOPED. ZIA SAID HE HAD DEVISED A SYSTEM OF HIS OWN -- A 200-SEAT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES OF EQUAL SIZE. THERE WOULD BE NO LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW UNTIL THESE GROUPS HAD DECIDED UPON A COURSE OF ACTION AND ELECTED A PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT. SENATOR NUNN SAID HE WAS VERY ENCOURAGED AND ASSERTED THAT ZIA'S ELECTION PROGRAM WOULD GREATLY IMPRESS THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

13. ON AN UNRELATED MATTER SENATOR GLENN SAID HE HAD GOTTEN A LOT OF MAIL ABOUT THE EXPROPRIATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY IN PAKISTAN, AND HE HOPED THERE COULD BE A RESOLUTION OF THIS ISSUE. AMBASSADOR HINTON OBSERVED THAT THIS HAD HAPPENED DURING THE NATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN. ZIA SAID THAT THE PROPERTIES OF FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE IN LAHORE AND SCHOOLS AT MURREE AND SIALKOT HAD BEEN SEIZED. CHURCH LANDS HAD PROVIDED INCOME FOR THE RUNNING OF THE SCHOOLS. THE MARTIAL LAW ADMINISTRATION HAD ISSUED ORDERS DIRECTING THAT THE CHURCHES WITHIN THESE COMPOUNDS MUST BE RETURNED AND ZIA PROMISED THAT HE WOULD RETURN SOME (HE MENTIONED TWO) CHURCH PROPERTIES BUT NOT THE SCHOOLS BEFORE ELECTIONS. SENATOR NUNN SAID WE TOOK YES FOR AN ANSWER. (COMMENT: THESE CASES ARE BEFORE THE COURTS AND IT IS NOT CLEAR TO US HOW ZIA WILL FULFILL THIS COMMITMENT.)

14. SENATOR NUNN TOLD ZIA THERE WAS ANOTHER SUBJECT ON WHICH WE NEEDED HIS HELP -- THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM WHICH WAS A PLAGUE IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS ISSUE WAS OF TREMENDOUS CONCERN AND HE WANTED TO

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THANK GENERAL ZIA IN ADVANCE FOR HIS EFFORTS IN THIS AREA. ZIA REPLIED THAT THIS WAS HIS MORAL DUTY AND ACTIONS TAKEN AGAINST THE NARCOTICS TRADE WERE FOR PAKISTAN'S OWN BENEFIT. AFGHANISTAN, ACCORDING TO ZIA, WAS THE SOLE SOURCE OF HEROIN, AS POPPY PRODUCTION HAD PRACTICALLY BEEN ELIMINATED IN PAKISTAN. PAKISTAN WAS NOT ABLE TO SEAL THE AFGHAN BORDER. WITH ONE KILO OF HEROIN RENDERED IN PAKISTAN

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BRINGING DOLS ONE MILLION IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, THERE WERE ENORMOUS INDUCEMENTS TO GO INTO THE TRADE. ZIA NOTED THAT THE SENTENCE IN PAKISTAN FOR CONVICTION FOR POSSESSION OF ANYTHING MORE THAN 12 GRAMS OF NARCOTICS WAS LIFE IMPRISONMENT. PAKISTAN HAD DEVELOPED AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF DETECTING DRUGS MOVING THROUGH AIRPORTS, I.E., BY DOGS. ZIA ALLEGED THAT LAND AND SEA ROUTES WERE LESS OF A PROBLEM. GOP WOULD DO WHAT IT COULD BUT IT NEEDS MORE ASSISTANCE AND MORE TRAINING. "GIVE US A FEW MORE GADGETS AND INSPECTORS AND TIGHTEN YOUR OWN LAWS." WE HAVE, ZIA ENDED, A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEM AND STILL HAVE A LOT OF IMPROVING TO DO. SENATOR NUNN STATED THAT WE ARE PARTNERS IN PROTECTING OUR OWN PEOPLE. SENATOR GLENN ADDED THAT DOG PROGRAM HAD WORKED WELL IN THE UNITED STATES, TO WHICH ZIA ADDED THAT THE CONTRIBUTION OF SIX DOGS WOULD BE APPRECIATED. AMBASSADOR HINTON INTERJECTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN INCREASE OF SMUGGLING OVER LAND ROUTES. BOMBAY HAD BECOME A MAJOR TRAFFICKING CENTER, AND THIS WOULD BE A GOOD PLACE FOR PAK-INDIAN COOPERATION. THERE WAS ALSO SMUGGLING VIA SPEEDBOATS ACROSS THE GULF.

15. IN CONCLUSION, SENATOR NUNN ASKED FOR A COPY OF PRESIDENT ZIA'S MAP AND OVERLAY WHICH ILLUSTRATED SOVIET EXPANSION INTO SOUTH ASIA AND ZIA AGREED TO PROVIDE THEM. AFGHANS, ZIA DECLARED, STILL HAD THE GLINT OF HOPE IN THEIR EYE AND WERE THIS LOST HE WOULD HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT TAKING IN THREE MILLION PEOPLE. SENATOR NUNN SAID OUR BIGGEST CHALLENGE WAS TO MAKE THE AFGHAN CASE KNOWN TO THE WORLD. WE HAVE GOT TO GET THE MESSAGE THROUGH. ZIA RELATED THAT HE HAD TOLD MARGARET THATCHER TO KEEP AFGHANISTAN ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE BRITISH PRESS AND SAID THAT HE HAD GIVEN THE SAME MESSAGE TO VICE PRESIDENT BUSH.

16. ABOVE MEMCON HAS NOT BEEN SEEN BY CODEL.  
HINTON

END OF MESSAGE

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